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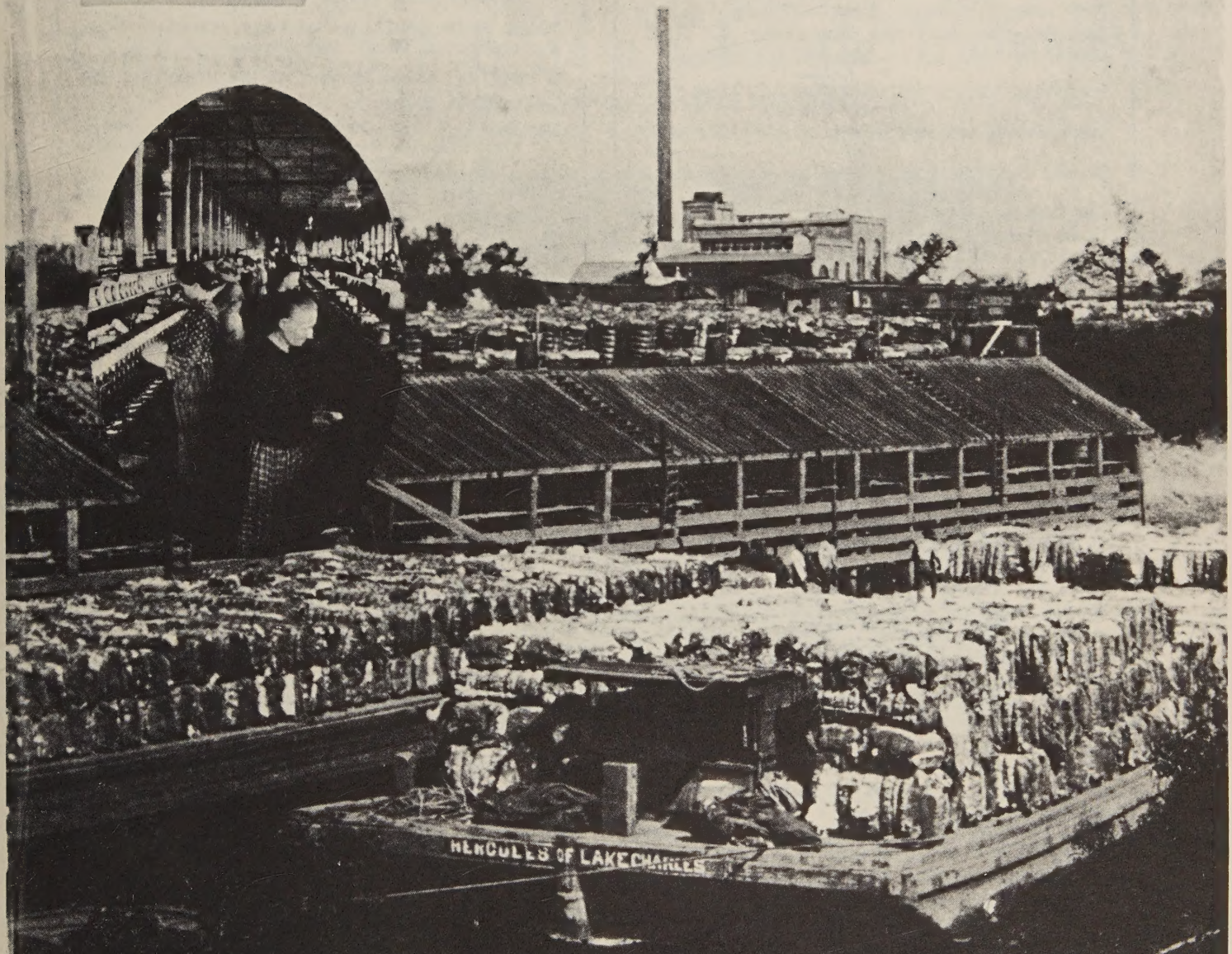

SLAVE or FREE?

The Big Textile Question Answered

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CONTENTS:

SLAVE OR FREE? ..... Preface
UNIONISM'S TASK IN A CHAOTIC INDUSTRY *Thomas F. McMahon*.. 1
THE "OUTLAWS" AND UNITY *John P. O'Connell* ... 5
ENTER THE LABOR SPY....*A. J. Muste* 8
THE CURSE ON COTTON ..*Theresa Wolfson* 10
THE BULL IN THE TEXTILE CHINA SHOP 12
COMPLIMENTED! ..... *A page of the "Railway Review"* 13
"POLITICAL HEALTH" (CARTOON) *Art Young* 14
STEEL, SUGAR, AND THE SULTAN OF SWAT *Labor Press* 15
BRITISH LABOR AND THE "INTELLECTUALS" *H. Snell* 18
THE WORKER'S GAS MASK *Prince Hopkins* 20
LABOR HISTORY IN THE MAKING 23

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SLAVE or FREE?

AMERICA is, by its own admission, the "Land of the Free." Every page in its history is a story of the fight for greater and greater freedom. Its birth was a protest against the Divine Rights of Kings. Its biggest internal struggle was waged for the freedom of the negro slaves. The days of Thomas Paine and Thomas Jefferson were repeated in the days of William Lloyd Garrison, Wendell Phillips and John Brown. The days of these Abolitionists are dittoed in this year 1923, in the war of the workers for economic liberty.

It would be well if an inventory were taken of the "state of freedom" in America at the present moment. We have one item before us: the textile industry with its 800,000 unorganized workers. Charles Dickens should come back to write their story. It is as dreary as any that he ever told of the poor devils dwelling in the British slums. Some real American, with a hatred for injustice that pictures Vileness in all its rawness and repulsiveness, should make an epic of their sufferings. It would stir the American workers as nothing has ever done.

"Why has this industry not been won to the side of Freedom? Why has it thus far defied unionization?" These are questions often asked by union men and women. They are answered in this issue. As President McMahon of the United Textile Workers has shown, women and child workers flood the textile mills. They are at least 50 per cent of the total workers. The United States Supreme Court has decided, in its minimum wage and child labor decisions, that they cannot be liberated by "legal" means. It is union action—and that alone—that can raise them from their present condition. It was union action that won for the women and child workers in the needle trades. In textiles the job is a much bigger one; for the needle workers were located mainly in the large cities, while the mill villages are far-flung and cut off from the world at large. They are ruled with an iron hand by the Silk, Cotton and Woolen Barons. Newspapers, police, local authorities are under control of the workers' enemies. This was shown just the other day, when the **Providence Journal** and the **Pawtucket Bulletin,** Rhode Island papers, refused to publish facts given them by the United Textile Workers on the profits of the Jenckes Company and the real reason for its moving South. This action was taken in face of the fact that the mill owners' sob stories had been run in full in their columns.

But things are riper for organization than they have ever been. Immigration has played havoc in the mills in the past. Newly arrived workers have been used to beat down the conditions of those who came before. This is not true now. The bars are up, and only a few can come in. The workers took advantage of this last year to strike home—and victory resulted.

Victory will be added to victory, if one other factor is added—the unity of the workers themselves. They have not only been divided on racial lines in the past, but have been split up into a number of unions. Such a condition can hardly bring forth good fruit. The leaders of all the unions seem to realize that. All call for "Unity" as the big need. It is encouraging to see the lack of animosity shown by the different groups, one for the other, and their real desire for a united effort. A survey of economic conditions, gotten out by the Labor Bureau, shows that this is the time for Organized Labor to put its best foot forward. The American Woolen Company has acknowledged its dependence on the workers, by increasing their wages. So have other textile companies. If the desire for unity can be converted into a reality, the destruction of Slavery in textiles can be predicted.

The call of the united worker-forces will be heard by willing ears. For what have the weavers and spinners of cloth, and those who help them, to expect from the Textile Barons? Only continued misery. Unionism's challenge has as much hope in it for them, as John Brown's cry to the negro slave.

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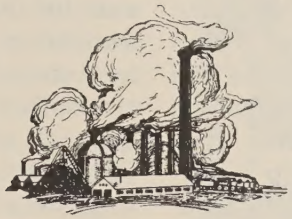
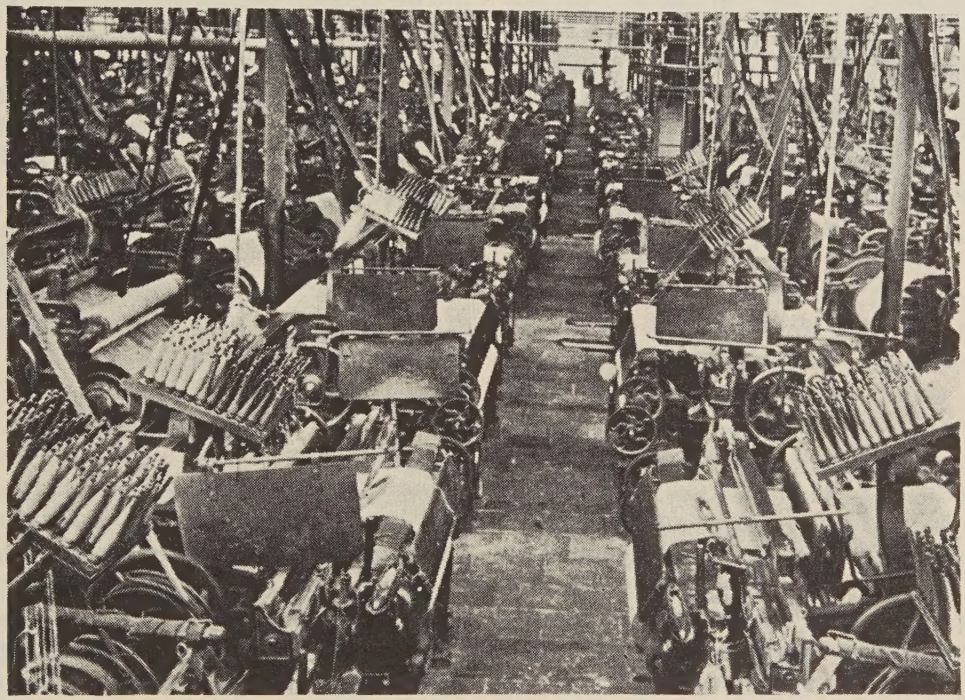


Unionism's Job in a Chaotic Industry

A Solid Workers' Army Can Win the Mills

By THOMAS F. McMAHON

CONFUSION MARKS TEXTILES



Underwood & Underwood.

Textile Mill, With Confusing Looms, Spindles and Pulleys

THE BIG JOB: TO BRING ABOUT UNITY

FELLOW WORKER—have you ever visited any of the large plants called textile mills where they manufacture the wonderful fabrics made from silk, the practical and beautiful things made from wool, and the household articles made from cotton? When these things are purchased over the counters in the various stores, I wonder if you ever think of the heartaches and the misery that have for years been woven in and out of these fabrics? If you have ever visited a mill you will always remember the many different operations performed in making even the simplest kind of cloth.

You will remember, too, the different products turned out by the various work-divisions of the industry. Among these various divisions there are combers and carders, winders and twisters, warpers, with many other tasks to be performed before the threads are really brought to the looms to be woven into the finished product. Then, we have the weavers, spinners, loom fixers, section-hands, the burlers, the perchers and so many others that it would take too long to call them all by name. Without a doubt many of these names sound like Greek to one not familiar with the industry.

Then, the industry itself is divided into the

manufacture of cotton, wool, flax, jute, carpets and rugs, hosiery, knit goods, silk, cordage, twine and linen.

On the business end there are seen the same messed-up conditions, insofar as control is concerned. In the woolen industry, there is the big Americal Woolen Company, better known and properly styled "The Woolen Trust." But, in the various other branches, ownership is fairly well divided among large groups of stockholders. Always and ever, even here, there are the one or two people who own and control the voting power of the industry, by maintaining for themselves the 51 per cent of votes necessary for control. (Of course, they are all bound together, in their various manufacturers associations, and work together with many of the bankers of the country, who watch over them as if they were groups of children, instructing them what to do.) The picture as a whole is like that of a mill itself—one of chaos.

The Coming of the Immigrant

Into this melting pot of industry came wave after wave of immigrant labor. The first groups were the English folks—who came from a long line of trades unionists and who knew the textile industry. Later the French-Canadian and the Germans, who came in large numbers to the silk and knitting industry. After that came the flood from all countries, from all sources, flocking into the textile mills. There they had hoped to live up to a picture that was distributed in one country—showing a mill in one corner with the workers pouring out on pay day with their envelopes to the bank across the street, to which they are all flocking to bank their pay. God! What an awakening they had!

At that time, nearly all the textile industry was centered in the East. It was a very easy matter therefore, for these manufacturers to get hold of these men and women immediately after they landed in this country, bring them into the textile mills and mould them to suit themselves. That was the run of things in the North, which means principally Pennsylvania and New England.

The Curse of the South

At the end of the Civil War, when they started to build mills in the South, they had no immigrant labor, but there was something that the mill owners considered even better and greater for their purpose—Women and Child Labor. It is the curse of that country—then and now.

The men and women came down from the farms and the hill country to work in the textile mills, and have ever since been owned body and soul by the Southern mill owners. Absentee ownership and non-resident directors are largely responsible for the conditions in the southern mills today. From the housetops we have heard it, and read it in glaring headlines in the press, that the Northern Mill Owners could not live, because of "Southern competition." If that is true, they have created the greater part of the competition themselves. For, the fact is, that nearly every southern mill has, on its Board of Directors, one member (and many times, more members), who are directors of mills in the North.

The mills in the south are largely cotton mills, but most of the woolen production comes from the northern states. In the hosiery and knit goods industry more than two-thirds of the 150,000 workers are women and children. We gathered this information from the United States Census of 1914. One has only to read this to realize what it means. There is a tremendous turn-over of labor. The women think of marriage. The children are not old enough to be organized. Because of all these things there are always new faces.

The Rise of the U. T. W.

In the year 1901, in Washington, D. C., the United Textile Workers of America was created, and began immediately to send forth the message of unionism to the textile workers of the country. Before the organization of the U. T. W., a number of craft unions had existed. In fact, unions in textile mills were among the first to spring up in American history. And, it is interesting to know that the first strike in a textile mill in America was in the small town of Dover, N. H. It was led by a group of women, one of them Hanna Borden, whose descendants today own some of the largest cotton mills in the country.

Realizing that in unity there is strength, a number of the craft organizations were brought together, through the efforts of the American Federation of Labor, and organized themselves into the solid, militant body of the United Textile Workers of America.

These small national organizations had been unable to make progress, being unable to cope with the problems arising from immigration and so forth, which were constantly coming up.

During these last two years, with immigration halted, it has made better headway than ever. The strike in New England last year, proved beyond the question of a doubt, the stuff of which the textile workers are made. This fight gave great encouragement to the workers North and South, in all the industry, with the result that our membership is growing constantly.

One of the big issues in the struggle of 1923 was the 48-hour week vs. the 54-hour week. This brought home the fact that in too many states where the textile industry abound we find hours of labor that are entirely out of place with decent and democratic ideas. The United States is the only nation in which women and children are forced by the employers to work in many cases 55 hours per week, and sometimes even as long as 60 hours. There is no reason why this should be so, except the demands of Greed. At its last convention the U. T. W. decided to fight along this line, in every state where textile workers are, for the establishment of the legal 48-hour week.

To make confusion worse confounded in our muddled-up industry a number of small "independent" unions have sprung up. Perhaps there are more in textiles than in any other industry. Their effect has been to obstruct the efforts of the U. T. W. to get better and better conditions for the workers. In some cases they have resulted from the dispute about dues. In others they have grown up overnight, their leaders being impatient and unwilling to go along with the mass of the workers. **It is the desire and purpose of the U. T. W. to foster the closer affiliation of all the textile workers.** We are doing everything we can toward that end. As a result of that effort, the American Federation of Full Fashioned Hosiery Knitters came to an agreement with us last year. This brought 18 local unions back into the fold.

Unity Efforts

Our representatives have also met with the American Federation of Textile Operatives and with the International Mule Spinners Association upon two occasions during the past year. The objections of both these unions was to our dues of 35 cents per month. They think them too high. But we cannot return to dues which are so low that they starve the union and prevent it from doing the job assigned to it. It is this very cheapness that has helped keep the textile workers generally as the lowest paid, longest worked set of operatives in this country today. **Long, hard fights cannot be carried on successfully without sinews of war.**

Keystone Photos

SILKEN THREADS
Scene from Manchester (N. H) Plant, in Which Last Year's Strike Raged

This Babel of unions, with resulting disunity among the workers, is tragic. There are 900,000 workers in the textile industry as a whole—the largest of any industry in this country. It is important, for the good of the country and the welfare of American Labor, that these men and women be enrolled as members of the legitimate trade union movement. It is important that they have power to strike off the shackles of bad conditions, which now keep them down. Dual unions will only hinder that object. The American Federation of Labor, realizing this fact, took a strong stand against all dual unionism in textiles at its Atlantic City convention. It declared the U. T. W. the only union having jurisdiction in this industry.

The U. T. W. has taken its place within the ranks of the American Federation of Labor as an organization that has done big things for the textile workers in the mills. Hundreds of thousands of unorganized workers have reason to bless the United Textile Workers—because, bad as conditions are now, in the early years they were even worse.

For All Workers

So far as the form of organization of the United Textile Workers is concerned, workers in all the various branches of the industry may be enrolled. It was this fortunate circumstance and the devotion of our members that have enabled the U. T. W. to make the wonderful fights it has made with the big financial odds against us. For 21 years it has held aloft the banner of a square deal for the men and women in the textile mills.

Encouraged by our New England victories, the U. T. W. is carrying on a big new campaign there at the present time. It is meeting a fine response among the unorganized. The immigration law keeps out that surplus of "greenhorn" labor, which the bosses have counted on to keep the workers in subjection. American Labor, and all who desire decent conditions for Labor, should take a stand against any change in that law now. Watch textiles during the next year, and the succeeding years, if the bars are kept up!

The Story of Jenckes

We are also carrying our fight into the South. Gastonia, N. C., is the center of Southern textile milling—and the center of our operations. It is there that is located the Jenckes Spinning Co., which recently moved from Loray, R. I. You will be interested in this company, because it has been the subject of much hub-bub by the banking and milling interests of New England. They claim that it made the move Southward, to be able to get on its feet again. "It could not continue in business," they say, "and pay the high wages of the New England operatives." It is good to look into this case, as we can once and for all nail the lie that Southern competition is destroying these Northern mills. It is an old, old song.

Well, the Jenckes Company for the 5 years ending June 30, 1921, made the "small" total profit of $10,400,000. During the first three of these years, the Jenckes Company did not own the Gastonia mills. Yet, in those three years it piled up a total profit of $5,500,000—all made in Rhode Island. In 1888, its capital stock was $400,000. It is now $7,694,000—almost 20 times as great. That's not so bad for these poor mill barons! Then, it has declared stock dividends during the 5 years mentioned of 150 per cent, 25 per cent and 100 per cent—the two first while operating solely in the North and the last only a few months after purchasing the Gastonia Mills. Altogether, in those 5 years, it made enough profits to pay a 77 per cent divident on common stock, after paying dividends on preferred stock! And this huge return, of course, came out of the hide of the workers.

As I said in a recent issue of **The Textile Worker,** our official organ: "Why did Jenckes run away from Rhode Island? Jenckes did not run away because they could not make a big profit in Rhode Island, where wages and hours are better than in the Jenckes Mill at Gastonia, N. C. Jenckes and others are running away because they can take larger profits from their unorganized workers in Gastonia. The trouble with some of our prominent bourbon employers is that the terrific profits made during the war have obsessed them." Briefly, the "Southern competition" talk is all bunk.

Forward!

The textile workers are again on the move. They are demanding a 29 per cent increase in wages, which would make these wages equal to what they were before December, 1920—when a cut of 22½ per cent was made. This cut had no foundation in fact, but was purely and simply a steal. The bosses took advantage of the depression to rob and maltreat the workers. We are determined that this unjust cut shall be restored to those to whom it rightfully belongs.

Now, as a parting thought: The crazy-quilt picture of textiles that now exists must not be allowed to continue. The workers must show a united army to that of the employers. The "independent" unions and their members must come back into the American Labor Movement.

The U. T. W. wants that to be effected. "United we stand; divided we fall," is an old saying—so old that it is frequently repeated in a meaningless way. But it has a big meaning—especially for the struggling workers in the New England and Southern mills. "Unity" must be our watchword. With that we can go on to victory—not only to get better conditions for ourselves, but to stop some of the great wastes which are going on under the present bad management of many of the mills. The workers are enemies of Waste. They have suffered from it terribly themselves. When they get strong enough, they will destroy it.

The "Outlaws" Speak for Themselves

Unity Through a Round Table Conference Is Suggested

By JOHN P. O'CONNELL

OUT of the textile mills have come a great number of "independent" or "outlaw" unions. Almost every strike of any size leaves behind it a local union, which struggles on, trying to battle against the employers "on its own." These little unions, like islands in a sea, can be found in mill city after mill city.

There are also larger groups—on an international basis—operating independently of the union affiliated with the A. F. of L. They have sprung up for a number of reasons. Some of them were internationals in the A. F. of L., and were forced out, because of their refusal to give up their charters. Some of them object to the dues charged by the A. F. of L. union. Others think that enough attention has not been paid this or that group of workers—the unskilled, for example.

The chief of these "independent" international and local unions are now joined together, loosely, in an association known as "The Federated Textile Unions of America." I say "now joined," because it has only been a little over two years that this federation has existed. It was a fine step forward, for disunity can only hurt the workers.

Picture of the "Outlaws"

A picture of these "outlaw" organizations can be obtained from a hurried roll call of some of the most important. The American Federation of Textile Operatives should perhaps be mentioned first. It has a strong and united following, centering principally around the cities of Fall River, New Bedford and Salem in Massachusetts—and in Maine. It is composed largely of cotton workers, who formerly were members of the United Textile Workers of America. They split off in 1912, over the question of "unjust discrimination" in dues. They have always insisted that the dues charged by the U. T. W. were so high as to be prohibitive for large groups of textile workers. At the present time they are forcing the fight in Fall River, which has attracted so much newspaper attention.

The International Mule Spinners' Union and the Amalgamated Lace Operatives of America also were in the American Federation of Labor —as separate internationals. The former is composed of "mule spinners" the latter covers the lace trade, and is quite well organized, its membership mainly being skilled workers. Both of these unions were ordered to merge into the United Textile Workers by the A. F. of L., in 1919. On refusing to do so, they lost their charters.

The Amalgamated Textile Workers, on the other hand, has been an "outlaw" union since its birth. It arose out of the big Lawrence strike of 1912, in which several of its leaders took part. Silk and wool are its chief fields of action, and it is considered to be more radical in philosophy than the other unions in the industry. It is this radicalism which has attracted most attention to it and its efforts. Much publicity has been given it by the liberal weeklies, particularly during the early part of its career.

In Philadelphia and New York

Philadelphia has its share of "independent" unions, four being located solely in the City of Brotherly Love. These are the Tapestry Carpet Weavers, a strong union of skilled workers; the Beamers and Twisters, the Turkish Towel Weavers and the Art Square Weavers Union. In addition, the Amalgamated Brussel Carpet Association has a good organization in that city. Skilled workers are its members and it is to be found in eight or nine other centers.

In Paterson, N. J., there is the Associated Silk Workers, made up of a half-dozen local unions, who tired, of the various "internationals" that attempted, time after time, to organize them permanently. In spite of their isolation, they have been able to hold their ground fairly well. In New York City there is the Amalgamated Knit Goods Workers. They have just won a hard-fought strike, and pushed their membership up to over 5,000. Up farther in New York State can be found the Amulet Spinners' Association, who work in knit underwear, and are largely centered around Cohoes.

These twelve unions are now an important factor in all situations concerning either silk, cotton, carpet and knitwear workers. They are a strong force in Maine, Massachusetts, Connecticut, New Jersey and Pennsylvania. In New

York and Rhode Island they run neck and neck with the United. In such notable textile centers and historic strike areas as Philadelphia, Lawrence, Paterson, Fall River, and New Bedford they are an active force, setting the pace in almost every move forward. Their members are not scattered and strewn about as is the membership of the United. Unfortunately, the combined forces of the U. T. W. and the "independent" unions would constitute only a skeleton organization. There are hundreds of thousands of textile workers as yet without any organization.

The progress of the indpendent union movement has been amazing to its own members, and to others who dreamed of its short life. It has gained adherents because of its attitude of good will. This, in spite of the fact that most of the unions were outlawed after being deprived of legal benefits and protection.

No Self-Seeking

Not one instance can be pointed out where personal animosity entered into the making of these unions. Oftentimes, the reason for splits in the labor movement has been due to leaders who have not been able to gain control of elective offices and have carried their supporters into a movement of secession. Proof that this does not apply to textiles can be found in every "independent" union (except the Amalgamated Textile Workers of America), in that there are no permanent and salaried officials, elected to give their whole time to the affairs of administration. This is contrary to the general trend of insurgency. Alone, it is sufficient to prove that constitutional grievances rather than personal advancement has been responsible for the movement.

The independent textile union movement has been very cautious all along the line on this question of official salaries. Even in the formation of the Federated Textile Unions of America —a step toward one international union—it refused to elect whole-time officials. It preferred to put the official affairs in the hands of an Executive Board, with each affiliated department or branch electing its own members.

Unity!

Again, it put in the Constitution "checks and balances," to prohibit abuses suffered during past affiliations. And it put its whole faith in the plan that the assessment method is the only guarantee of success in strike situations. All through the history of the independent movement, it has been face to face with the problem of self-reliance. This has been the acid test. By adoption of the assessment clause, to allow it to carry on aggressive and defensive struggles, it has given the signal that it has triumphed. For, it is now absolutely self-reliant.

This situation was thrust upon the independent unions, when they were forced to break with the American Federation of Labor. Today the "independent" unions are an asset to the American Labor Movement, because of their adherence to a policy of economic and efficient administration—backed by a cautious though ever-militant membership.

Many wonder what the attitude of the "independents" is toward the American Federation of Labor. Is it anti-A. F. of L.? The answer is an easy one. The "independent" unions are American in spirit, interested and anxious that American wage earners establish the highest standards of living, wages and hours. Consequently, these unions realize the necessity for such a body as the A. F. of L. to speak and act in the interests of the American wage earners. In order to make this a reality these unions have contributed effort and money to assist strikes of many A. F. of L. unions. They did this, knowing that the defeat of any union in its march to progress, sooner or later means the defeat of Labor everywhere.

Enemies of all Labor have attacked the "independent" unions with the extreme terms: "Bolshevik, Red, Outlaw, Conservative, Reactionary." It has been beset by "emancipators" and wise men who would lead the textile worker out of the darkness. But it has doggedly carried on the program: "To preserve unions is a duty, and as necessary as starting them." **As the lines in the children's song goes "Sticks and stones may break my bones, but names will never hurt me." So believes the "independent" textile movement.**

Labor Homes

The "independents" have been forced to save for their "rainy days" and have labor homes in Philadelphia, New Bedford, Fall River, Lawrence and elsewhere.

The independent textile union movement is long out of its swaddling clothes and moving forward to demand of the general labor movement the right, because of its strong position, to be heard and recognized. It is not a split move-

A PLEA FOR INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM

THE 1922 convention of the United Textile Workers, held at Fall River, Mass.—where the big wage movement has been on foot of late—went on record in favor of further steps toward workers' unity in the industry. Secretary O'Connell of the American Federation of Textile Operatives makes a similar plea in this article.

What attitude the Amalgamated Textile Workers would take toward such steps is indicated by an editorial in the February-March issue of the NEW TEXTILE WORKER, written by Russell Palmer, General Secretary. He also shows what, in his opinion, has held back textile organization. In discussing the Fall River move for better conditions, he writes:

"The two largest and most important cotton manufacturing centers in America are Fall River and New Bedford, Massachusetts. Of these twin 'cotton capitals' Fall River takes the lead. It was felt that the move for a wage increase, so far as the cotton department was to be the scene of it, should be made in Fall River.

"There is no Local Union of the Amalgamated Textile Workers in Fall River, but the Amalgamated pledged the financial support of the cotton workers in its territory in Rhode Island, Massachusetts, and Connecticut especially, and generally of all its members everywhere, to any effort the Fall River workers might make to push the wage rate upward.

"It is an anomaly in the cotton department of the textile industry that it has the lowest rate of wages in the industry but has the greatest degree of organization among the workers. The explanation is perfectly clear to any intelligent, class conscious worker who observes carefully: The greater part of existing unionism in the cotton department is the wrong kind.

"Not over ten per cent of the workers in Fall River and New Bedford are organized. They are divided into craft unions on a basis of decentralization and local autonomy, cheap dues and extreme conservatism. No combination of principles and policies more productive of disaster to the textile workers could possibly be imagined. These unions have existed in one form or another for over thirty years. Some years ago they seceded from the United Textile Workers, not because it was not aggressive enough, as groups have done in other places, but because it was too aggressive and the leaders of these organizations did not wish to pay per capita tax or support organization work in the field. They have for three decades held the fort for conservatism in Fall River and New Bedford.

"We hope our fellow textile workers in these places will not misunderstand this criticism. In any fight they may engage in, in any labor trouble they may be forced into, we will support them to the limit of our ability, cheerfully. But we will never lose an opportunity to tell all textile workers that craft unionism, extreme Local autonomy and conservative passivity are wrong; that these things are responsible for the fact that textile workers are among the lowest paid skilled workers in America.

*** * ***

"Some day textile workers in increasing numbers will wake up to the truths of unionism that the more astute manufacturers have always recognized. They will wake up to the truth that if they can get 12½ per cent by the mere threat of unionism or united action, they could get full justice in the industry, whose great wealth they produce, if they were solidly organized. When that light glimmers in their brains, textile workers will organize and stay organized.

"Industrially organized we could dominate the factors in our industry—be masters of our collective fate through control of our jobs. We could be better off and more independent than the yoemen of old, instead of as we are now, suppliants on the borders of what should be our own freehold."

ment, but determined now to have one union within the industry—governed by a constitution which will remove old and bad features and preserve the unity so necessary for textile workers' future welfare.

It has expressed by act the wish for a solid union, reformed for the benefit and advantage of all textile workers. Likewise, the United Textile Workers of America have declared "a house divided against itself must fall." A repetition of the scene presented during the recent strike, when the Amalgamated Textile Workers and the United Textile Workers battled and begged at the gates of the mills of New Bedford and Fall River, will surely become the cause of defeat in some serious situation. There is no reason why this disunion should exist. **If someone can force a round table conference or convention of the opposing forces, the day will be won for Unity.**

Sincere in purpose, the independent textile union movement will strive reasonably and intelligently to effect a solid and united organization of textile workers. How soon and when, time only can tell. The arrangement just made between the United Hatters of North America and the United Cloth Hat and Cap Makers shows that agreement between unions is not impossible. May it soon come in textiles!

Enter: The Labor Spy

Personal Experience With These Gentry In Textiles

By A. J. MUSTE

HAND IN HAND with industrial slavery always goes the labor spy. To keep men, women and children in subjection is a hard task. The spy is hired to live among the workers and keep tab on their leaders, and those likely to serve as the rallying point for discontent. The extent of this slimy business is thus sketched out by Sidney Howard in his pamphlet on "The Labor Spy": "A chief of the Railroad Brotherhoods says that he has not often known 'a unit large enough to be called a meeting and small enough to exclude a spy.' A year ago spies were discovered in Passaic, New Jersey, in the mills of the American Woolen Company. At the very time of their exposure, the investigators of the steel strike were stumbling upon evidence of the practice around Pittsburgh. Spies and strike breakers figured in the street railway riots of Brooklyn and Denver last summer, in the brass strike of last spring in Waterbury, in St. Louis, in Chicago, in the Northwest, in California.

* * *

"When the Commission on Industrial Relations examined the workers and employers of American industry, it found scarcely one who had not an admission to make or a story to tell of the workings of the industrial spy system."

I REMEMBER the first time I was present at a strike committee meeting when a member of the committee was denounced as a spy. He seemed a very mild and refined youth, who could hardly be guilty of playing such a role.

After he had been put off the committee and advised to leave town, he came over to me.

"A serious mistake is being made," he said, in what seemed a frank, earnest manner. "I will be hurt badly and my reputation blackened. Can't something be done?"

I more than half believed him. But I was cautious enough not to have anything more to do with him. Since then I have encountered him elsewhere, and have had a better chance to observe his methods. This further acquaintance has convinced me that he is a spy.

Now, there was one member of the union who was more zealous than any other in seeing that this young man was convicted of spying. He left no stone unturned to prove the charge. He was active in collecting proofs, and appeared before the trial committee in the part of prosecutor. He was bitter in his attack on "those stool pigeons who come in to destroy our unions." Well, it turned out later that he, too, was a detective, in the employ of the same agency! It was part of his game in getting into the inside councils of the strikers, to expose some of his fellow employes. The confidence which he inspired as a result of such "faithful service" he used as a weapon to break down the union's morale.

Beating the Spy!

But these experiences are not surprising to veteran labor men, particularly in such an industry as textiles. The mills are honey-combed with "under-cover men." Workers themselves, of course, are recruited for this job of double-crossing and injuring their fellows. In one of the largest textile strikes ever waged in this country, the secretary of the Finance Committee was in the employ of the textile company chiefly concerned in the strike. He made duplicate reports of all the income and expenditure of the Strike Committee to his employers every day. He was on the Executive Committee—and was one of the very small group consulted in times of dire crisis, when it did not seem safe to call in even all the members of the Executive Committee. Of course, all these most confidential discussions went promptly, in the form of reports, into the offices of the corporation!

After a desperate battle of weeks, the strike was won. The demands of the workers were met, and new life ran through the veins of the textile unions. It was one of the turning points in the fight between slavery and freedom in textiles.

"After all," as a friend of mine said, "a detective cannot accurately weigh and report the spirit of the workers, when they are aroused."

The Champion of Violence

Imagine another scene: a meeting of the Strike Committee in the midst of a struggle involving thousands of workers. The police have been unspeakably brutal, riding down women and children as well as men, without provocation. Finally, they have brought in a couple of machine guns and planted them on the main streets of the city, and on the main roads leading out of the city. They have done this to cow the strikers, or drive them to acts of violence.

The committee is discussing what to do to meet this new move. They are men who have come from many European countries and some Americans—but all welded together by their common cause. Their bitter feelings, of course, are at white heat. Some of them have had their own wives and children mistreated by the police.

One member of the committee gets up and makes an impassioned speech. He denounces the leaders of the strike for being too peaceful. They are like "sheep, without the guts to face their enemies." He urges that now at last the masses must rise in revolt, seize the machine guns that afternoon and turn them on the police! The committee, stirred as it was, rejects such counsel. It votes against violence, as an answer to violence of the police. Two weeks later we discover that this man is himself a detective, in the employ of the police department of the city.

In the course of that strike, no less than nine members of the Strike Committee were exposed as being in the employ of the enemy. You can imagine how well-informed the mill owners should have been about every step that we figured on taking. Well-informed, that is, if these men reported to their paymasters correctly. But the spy is an inveterate liar. Coloring his reports to make his boss "see red" is part of the game. I am sure that with all these exposures, the more skillful spies were never found out, and that we went through the whole fight with some of them on our committee.

A Confession—With a Purpose

Once in my textile career I had the interesting experience of having a labor spy confess to me that he was a spy. Some of us were to be "framed up" on a murder charge, he said. He was to furnish the evidence. "But," he added, "I know you fellows are honest, and I can't see you framed up. It's damn bad business."

He gave us evidence by which, in case he were called upon to testify against us, we could prove he was a spy and so discredit his testimony.

"What was his motive?" I studied that over for many days without a satisfactory answer. Though he had expressed disgust at his job, and particularly at the "frame up," he didn't seem to be of the type that would have any qualms at hurting a strike leader. Some months later my question received a satisfactory answer. He wrote me, asking for a job as detective for the union!

"Disloyalty"

He was by no means the only detective I have met who was not altogether loyal to his employers. There was one man, who caused the arrest of one of our organizers at a critical moment in a big strike. To my surprise, a few months later he came to me and asked to have a talk with me. He wanted to sell me information, which he had been gathering at that very time for the manufacturers' association of one of the largest cities of the country!

There was another man, if one may call him that, who was getting advertisements from employers for labor papers. At the same time, he was supposedly doing some organizing work for a textile union other than the one with which I was connected—and supervising the undercover men for several of the employers from whom he obtained the ads. He came to me with a plan for turning over members of this other union to us.

"You see," he said, "I will tell these other union men that your organizers are around, and seem to be good fellows. We don't get results with this union, so I'll tell them to look your men up and have them talk to our meetings. Then, I'll stir around and see that sentiment is created in favor of your union."

The plan, as he further unfolded it, involved the betrayal of the employers, also, whose "under-cover" men he was going to use to call strikes against them. You must admit that it is only a spy who could think of such things.

A Real Waste

To foment trouble in big strikes, where thousands are involved, these "under-cover men" are useful—to employers who want that sort of thing. For the rest, their methods are so crude—and to anyone who has had but a little experience, so obvious; they are so apt to sell out their employers; the information they furnish is so untrustworthy, that it seems incredible that hundreds of thousands of dollars should be spent on detective agencies each year. Why, I have seen reports they have made after interviews with myself in which they did not even accurately describe the color of my hair, though God knows why they should need a paid detective to find that out.

And yet, in one little textile town in Ohio in one month 25 different spies were set to work in the mills to break the union. (We happened to have means of tracing their mail in this case.) And, over 700 were sent into a single large mill in Lawrence after the strike of 1912.

Is not this an item of "waste in industry" about which the public can well afford to do some thinking? Why not eliminate private detectives from the field of industry altogether?

The Curse On Cotton

Slavery Perpetuated Through Woman and Child Labor

By THERESA WOLFSON

THE touch of slavery seems to run all through textiles. Cotton, formerly raised by slave labor, is still produced by black workers under slave conditions. Silk comes from the hands of the oriental labor, little removed from peonage; while wool is raised by the underpaid and overworked farm laborer. In the mills all these materials are turned over, almost half the time, to women and children workers. Of the 800,000 children at work in America today, textiles has contributed more than any other industry. Read this brief story, and think over what this means.

IT IS six o'clock in the morning—a cold gray dawn with an icy tinge in the air. The figures leaving the bleak little mill cottage and wending their way down the oozing clay road, form a wretched shabby silhouette against the slowly disappearing darkness.

Their goal is the cotton mill at the other end of the town, the mill with its thousand yellow blinking windows and black buildings sprawling out against the sky. From every door in this mill village, the white faces of men, women, and children are peering forth sleepily into the gray dawn—with one idea fixed in their consciousness—"To the mill on time!"

At the same time, in a thousand cotton mill villages all through the South, a similar scene is being enacted with an overpowering monotony, as deadening as that of the spinning room or the very looms themselves.

What is the great tragedy of one of the greatest industries of the United States? An industry that in 1921 produced 68.4 per cent of the world's mill supply of cotton—12,859,000 bales of cotton of 500 pounds to a bale! An industry that ran in that same year 36,047,367 spindles spinning cotton fibre, of an available 36,617,584. The cotton industry is one of the richest industries in the United States. The cotton operative, the most wretched, the most spiritless, and hopeless worker. Why?

The feudal system has the cotton mill village in its tentacles. The cotton mill worker is suffering from generations of serfdom. Bare bleak houses are thrown up around the mill. The mill is the life-giving force of the community. Because it is a machine, with the prime function of making profits, the force which comes from it, is weak and degenerating. The mill village of the South is an isolated social fact.

The mill owner builds and owns the houses, the church, the store, the school; in fact, every avenue of possible escape from the influence of the mill—leads back to it. The spiritual, mental and physical life of the worker is dried up by the choking and befogging lint of the cotton mill.

Cotton Lint

Why do these workers not organize and fight their economic battles, as have other workers? There is no strength, no stamina, no physical or mental strength!

The adult operatives in the cotton mills of today, were the child laborers of yesterday. They were working in the mill at the age of seven or eight and its atmosphere has left an imprint on their earliest memories. Their mothers worked in the mills night and day, up to the birth of the child, and returned to the mills immediately after. The economic status of the family depends upon large families — lots of children to work at the spindles, and shift the bobbins—so the women must of necessity breed prolifically.

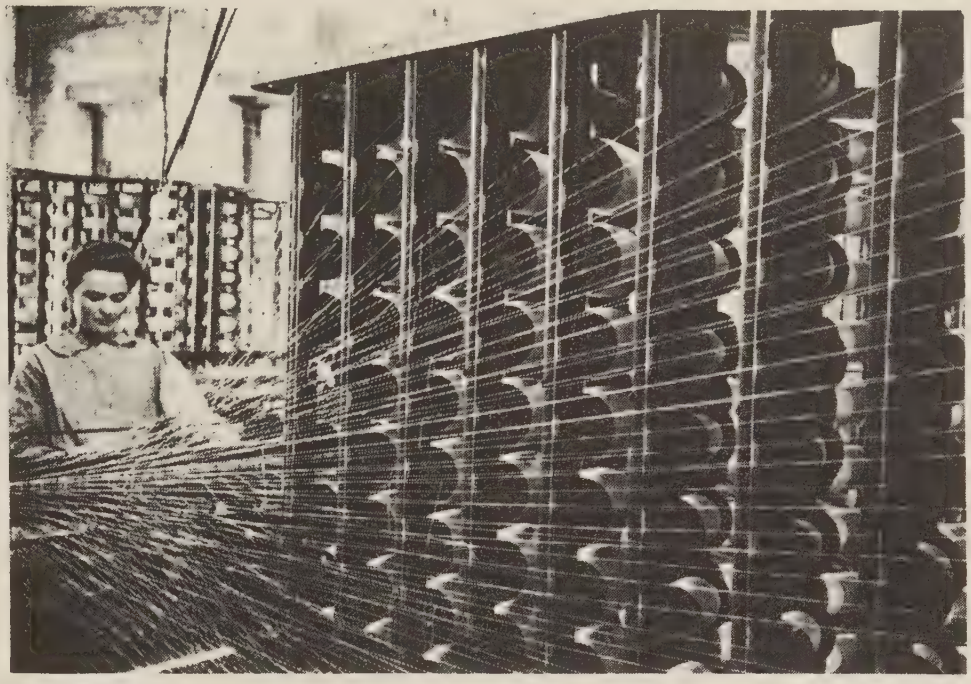
Child labor is the curse of the cotton mill worker. Up to a few years ago practically no laws existed in the South prohibiting the child under fourteen to work in the mill. And today, with the Federal Child Labor Law declared unconstitutional, there are many states that legally and openly sanction child labor.

What strength, what courage, what vision can one expect from a mill worker who, though but thirty-five today, has been in the mills over twenty-five years? He is burnt out—his most eager desire is to "sit" at home and let the kids and the wife do for him"—and the circle begins all over again.

The Age of Righteous Upchurch

Even the child labor laws are but weak straws to the demands of the economic system. The writer will never forget an incident in a South-

SOUTHERN COTTON—PRODUCT OF SLAVE LABOR



Keystone Photos

Warping Machine in Action in Dallas Cotton Mill

Raised by Peons, Made into Goods by Woman and Child Labor

ern cotton mill, where the Federal child labor inspector was verifying the ages of the children working. One small wizened youngster, Righteous Upchurch, by name, was called upon to reveal his age. His mother produced a Bible, an insurance policy and a school certificate and the documents indicated the child to be twelve, thirteen and fourteen respectively.

"Can't you remember just when your son was born?" queried the inspector.

"Lors missy," the mother replied wearily, "ahs been havin so many kids and dey's been dying so often, I jes' don' know where dis one come in!"

And the "boss-man" assured the inspector that the kid had worked there for a year already, and it wasn't any use making him get out now!

The Woman

The position of the woman worker in the mills is another reason for the wretched condition of the mill worker. A child worker until she is old enough to marry; then, a period in mill home with the stamp of the mill on every article of furniture and every phase of married life. A reduction in the wages of her husband, an increase in the family, and the woman is back again in the mills attempting to earn enough for a mere living. She is keeping house at the same time, raising a family, and subsequently ready for the scrap heap at an early age! If ever there was a crying need for a living wage law for women workers, it is in the cotton mills of the South. But then, the minimum wage law has just been declared unconstitutional, too!

There will never be a trade union of cotton mill workers until they can break away from the complete bondage of the mill owner, until they can recover physical courage and strength through the complete abolition of child labor, and until some new virile blood is injected into the veins of the quickly degenerating "pure American" mill workers. Then perhaps they will be ready to listen to the cry of organization!

The economic conditions of the cotton mill worker are bound up with the general economic problems of the South. But, in addition, there is the added problem of a complete physical breakdown among a class of workers that has submitted to feudalism for generations.

The Bull in the Textile China Shop

Who is Responsible for Waste? The Profit Maker!

"WHY NOT PASS THE HAT?" So asks the United Textile Workers of the southern mill owners, in one of a series of clever little leaflets got out in cooperation with the Labor Bureau.

"The average weekly earnings of all northern and all southern cotton mill workers compare as follows," the leaflet says:

Northern	$18.71
Southern	13.99
Difference	$ 4.72

"Northern workers," it explains, "averaged $4.72 a week more, one-third higher. And remember that the hours of labor are not so long in the North. Northern operatives work fewer hours for more dollars. The northern cotton mill workers average to receive around 12 cents an hour more than the southern workers. In the better organized centers, the difference in favor of the North is still greater."

"Who benefits by the lower wages and the longer hours of southern cotton mill workers?" it asks. The answer is a clincher. It is given out of the mouths of the Profit Makers themselves—through the **"American Wool and Cotton Reporter,"** organ of their industry. This shows that the money made from the southern cotton workers was used to fight the northern workers! It is the Profit Maker who benefits all around.

Why don't the mill owners pass around the hat among the southern workers? Because they have a better method: "They take the money out of your wages before you get it, without the embarrassment of asking your permission."

The Root of All Troubles

EVERYWHERE in textiles there is the same answer. The Profit Maker is at the root of all its troubles. If we could take a photo of the industry, it would look like a china shop after a wild bull had run through it. Its wages are the lowest, its conditions perhaps the worst, of any industry in the U. S. A. Diseases play havoc among its underpaid and undernourished workers. Wastes—human and industrial—are high.

The Federated American Engineering Societies have been making a study of Waste in Industry, through a special committee, as you may know. Certainly, this committee has no particular love for Labor. All of its immediate interests run the other way. Yet, in the textile industry it finds that 50.2 per cent of the waste is due to Management; 40.2 per cent to "outside contacts" (largely controllable by the industry as a whole), and only 9.6 per cent to Labor. Or, as it adds: "Management, then, seems to be responsible for considerably more than half of the waste discovered, while labor seems to be a contributing factor in approximately a tenth of the total." Again, it is the Profit Maker! He is the bull in the textile China Shop.

The Bigness of Textiles

THESE low wages, bad conditions, and waste, it must be remembered, exist in one of the biggest industries of this country. Here is the story of the importance of Textiles in a nutshell, told by the Engineers' Committee:

"The textile industry . . . . . leads all other industries in the number of establishments employing more than 250 hands each. It leads all industries in the number of plants, the product of which has a value of more than $1,000,000. It is second only to the steel and iron industry in the amount of capital represented, which is now conservatively estimated at $3,500,000,000. According to the 1914 census, the value of its products was $3,414,615,000. The estimate is made that in 1920 the value of its products was very close to $7,000,000, of which $499,279,939 was exported. Textile plants are scattered from coast to coast and number 12,964. The prosperity and buying power of the managers and workers in the textile industry is, therefore, important to the prosperity of American industry as a whole."

Cutting Out the Profit Maker

HOW important is the conquest of this industry, too, to Organized Labor! Its very bigness makes it an important link in that chain of industries that must be unionized, if Labor is to make headway. Success in unionization would mean the beginning of the end of Waste, as President McMahon suggests.

Certainly, it would mean that, if the Profit Maker were to be eliminated. Read Veblen's chapter on "Captains of Industry" in his fine little book on **"The Engineers and the Price System,"** and see what a myth we have spun about the "productive value" of the Profit Maker. He is not only producing nothing; but, as Veblen says, "it is an open question whether the business-like management of the captains is not more occupied with checking industry than with increasing its productive capacity."

When, as in textiles, this means the shortening of human life because of ill-nourishment, and mental and physical sickness among the workers, it becomes a social crime. Such a crime the workers can wipe out. They can do it by finally doing away with the Profit Maker altogether. They can do it by immediately uniting in one fighting organization for their immediate rights!

WHAT LABOR'S ENEMIES THINK OF "LABOR AGE"

ON the opposite page is a sample copy of the "Railway Review," published for the Railway Interests. It fears the Facts LABOR AGE gets out for the Labor Movement. It warns railroads and other employers to stop the work of this magazine, which it says is aiding "the craze for higher wages and for changes in working conditions."

This is a rare compliment to the job we are doing. It shows that LABOR AGE is making a dent. Of course, as usual, the "Railway Review" mixes up its facts in pitiful fashion. On labor problems, Big Business organs are about as reliable as the Labor Spy. Neither one of these "sources of information" can avoid lying.

COMPLIMENTED?

(*See box at bottom of opposite page*)

One of the motives which actuates the group who seem to comprise the inner circle that gives leadership to the movement, is the hope of forcing nationalization of one or more of the country's basic industries. The railroads are the immediate objective of the attack. The organizations that are promoting this new form of warfare against industry propose to achieve nationalization of the railroads, either by forcing intervention by the government or through some form of political action as a result of the industrial crisis which they hope to precipitate.

The question then arises as to the strength and source of this movement. Almost every organization of radicals in the country is committed to a program of government control or ownership and "socialized" operation of railroads. If the present plans succeed to the point of compelling the government to seize the railroads in an emergency, the organized forces of unrest are prepared to follow up their advantage with political action designed to consolidate their gains and make permanent their successes in what amounts to a gigantic scheme to "socialize" American industry.

Each small success in strikes or labor controversies over wages and working conditions helps to pave the way for new demands that later will be made against whole industries. The strikes which are now brewing or which are already in progress in the textile trades of New York and New England are inspired by the forces which represent the backbone of the present movement to swing organized labor to the side of the ultra-radical socialists and communists. Many corporations in the last few weeks have granted wage increases in response to demands emanating apparently from within the ranks of their own organizations. In numerous cases these disputes have been deliberately fomented under the direction of outsiders. Each increase of wages secured is reported broadcast within 48 hours to the organizers within the various trades where the drive for new members and for changes in present working agreements is centered. It is the duty of these organizers or agents to disseminate this information about the wage increases received by employees in other shops of the same industry or among the crafts of other industries. In this way the craze for higher wages and for changes in working conditions is spread to new groups and the movement passes through successive stages which involve, first, local conditions, and then general conditions, in a sort of cycle. An extensive inter-communicating system of collecting and distributing information on wages and cost of living is maintained and supported by the radical societies and by certain labor organizations under the control of militant unionists. Sentiment in the unions is readily susceptible to this kind of exploitation among men unaware of the true conditions.

The leadership of the "left wing" labor organizations seems to emanate from socialist and ultra-radical sources,

Labor Age

Steel—Bulwark of Anti-Unionism

American Labor Must Take Reaction's Stronghold

By WILLIAM HANNON

CAN THESE MEN BE FREED?

Their Freedom Will Keep All Labor Free.

The above is a reproduction of the sketch by Joseph Stella, entitled "At the Base of the Blast Furnace." It appeared in the volume "Wage Earning Pittsburgh" — one of the volumes of the Pittsburgh Survey.

THE importance of trade-union organization for the steel workers themselves is clear to all fair minded individuals. The

In 1919 the Steel Corporation attempted to draw a red-herring across its trail by a clever and under-handed publicity campaign which

A Typical Page from "Labor Age"

The leading article in the current issue of "Labor Age" was written by William Hannon, of the International Association of Machinists, secretary of the National Committee for Organizing Iron and Steel Workers. The inflammatory character of this publication is readily apparent in the slogans, "American Labor Must Take Reaction's Stronghold"—"Can These Men Be Freed?"—"Their Freedom Will Keep All Labor Free."

Drawn for LABOR AGE by Art Young *I. P. E. U. 624*

THE SPECIALISTS AT WORK

Let the immigrants flow in, says Gary in his latest utterance, but be sure that they are "politically healthy."

Steel, Sugar and the Sultan of Swat

Break Into The Front Page All In One Month——With "Wee Willie," the Bouncing Boy

By THE LABOR PRESS

UNTIL STEEL IS ORGANIZED

STEEL is the big key industry. As long as it remains unorganized, the workers in other industries cannot expect to go forward on a big scale. Their position is never secure. Brother William Hannon showed clearly in the January issue of LABOR AGE how U. S. Steel and its allies had extended their fangs into almost every industry to strike down Organized Labor. Until Steel is organized, LABOR AGE will run full reports of the conditions in the mills and of the possibilities of striking at the Steel Kings.

IN Spring the young man's fancy lightly turns to thoughts of the old ball yard. The wild cry of the fan is now heard everywhere throughout the land. It is one of Nature's regular features during April—as much so as temperamental showers, gentle breezes, opening buds and that sweet, soothing feverish feeling which gets us all, sooner or later, at this time of the year.

From the Pacific Coast—where "civil war" rages in the baseball ranks—to Manhattan—where 75,000 turned out to see the Yankees open their new stadium—baseball is in the air, on the front page of the newspapers and everywhere else possible for it to break in. Views of that distinguished and brainy gentleman, "Babe" Ruth, are shown in 40,000 different poses—to the joy of those whose greatest ambition it is to maul a ball several hundred yards, over a high fence.

The "Sultan of Swat" finds himself in heavy-hitting company this year, in the limelight's glare. Side by side with him appear those lusty swatters of the public—Sugar and Steel. But there is no applause for them—no wild cheering as they appear upon the scene. One is cast in the role of a villain; the other in that of Uriah Heep—whining that it always pays good wages, and that it wants the immigration bars let down for the good of the country only, and not to cheapen labor!

It was Basil Manly, of the People's Legislative Service, who dragged Sugar upon the stage, as reported in last month's LABOR AGE. In a wire to President Harding, he charged that "American households are being robbed of millions of dollars each week by conspiracy to increase sugar prices and continued manipulation." He followed this up with a letter, in which he pointed to the upward movement in sugar. "Prominent sugar refiners now predict," he said, "that unless this movement is summarily checked the American housewife will be paying 20 cents a pound for sugar before June. If this be true, the American people will be robbed of $500,000,000 solely for the benefit of sugar gamblers and profiteers. This outrage can and should be prevented." The letter sharply attacked Secretary of Commerce Herbert Hoover for aiding the sugar gamblers, and demanded a Federal grand jury investigation.

The part that Hoover played is set down by Sam Evans, in a special release for the People's Legislative Service, reprinted in the **Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen's Magazine.** The National Sugar Refining Company had just issued a stock dividend of 50 per cent—or $5,000,000 cold net profit. The Department of Commerce had just found out the following facts:

"That Cuba has another 4,000,000,000 ton crop in sight this year, that there is a greatly increased crop in Java and in Europe and that the decrease in the American crop is a little more than made up by the increase in the European crop. . . . That the production this year will be 125,000 tons higher than last year's production and that in 1923 there will be a 'decrease in Europe's import needs amounting to 350,000 to 400,000 tons.' . . That there will be a surplus at the end of the year of 476,000 tons of sugar over and above world needs."

What did Handsome Herbert do? "Did the Department of Commerce publish these facts and let them speak for themselves?" asks Mr. Evans. And he answers, "It did not." Instead, it issued a statement in Mr. Hoover's name, playing into the hands of the sugar gamblers.

"The statement was printed in all the papers under scareheads as a world shortage predicted by Hoover, and the merry game was on in the New York Stock Exchange. Prices began to go up in nervous jumps. They advanced the limit allowed by the gamblers' rules on the exchange."

Manly's charges, first printed in full in "some progressive papers," were taken up by the entire press. There was a great hullaballoo. Every day news about sugar appeared in the most conspicuous part of the newspapers. Then, only a few days ago, it was announced that the Department of Justice had begun action against the Sugar Barons. But the **Milwaukee Leader** thinks that this action will be of little value to the people. "As for the suits begun by the department of alleged justice" it says, "the past record of that department does not throw out much hope that they have been commenced in good faith." The same note of doubt runs through the rest of the labor press, and has been expressed by the members of the People's Bloc in Washington.

Not to be outdone by the Sugar Swindlers, along comes Judge Gary of U. S. Steel, with a

Milwaukee Leader

TABLE MANNERS

further cry for more immigration. He wants it understood that he does not favor unrestricted immigration. Of course not, for the "bolsheviks" could then come in. "The number allowed to come here should be equal to the necessities of our industries." In other words, enough should be admitted—carefully selected as to their "political health," as the Judge so nicely puts it—to allow the U. S. Steel to continue the 12-hour day and to prevent unionization. That the head of the Steel Trust is not in good humor is shown by his further statement that "officials of private interests" should not be "unreasonably" criticized.

Well, you can't blame the old boy. He has just given the "steel slaves" an 11 per cent increase in wages. Of course, as the **Toledo Union Leader** puts it, this is "the equivalent of about two more loaves of bread in steel workers' homes." But these "voluntary" wage increases hurt the "Corporation with a Soul," as one of its admirers calls it. And they are a possible forerunner of other increases in steel—and who knows, perhaps of unionization? That is the ghost haunting Gary's pillow, ever.

President Gompers calls attention to this ghost in discussing the wage rise, which he says will not "anger us." He calls for the abolition of the 12-hour day, as a "further admittedly justified and needed step." He says that the Steel Trust's move is due to "necessity, not generosity." And the Duluth **Truth** adds this thought:

> "The four cents an hour increase gives the unskilled men the enormous sum of 40 cents per hour to spend on their wives and children. It is supposed to be inducement enough to keep them on the job, although in some localities building contractors are offering 70 cents an hour for a similar grade of work."

At the time that the increase was announced, the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers was meeting at Warren, Ohio. The unorganized condition of the industry was shown by the fact that 135 delegates were present, representing from 8,000 to 9,000 union workers. The industry as a whole covers 600,000 workers. President Tighe gave the attitude of the union during the past few years, when he stated that it stood for "conciliation" and "conservatism." There was a strong "progressive" group among the delegates, however, the most conspicuous of whom was A. M. Jennings of Granite City, Ill. The Granite City locals are well organized, and pay in about 20 per cent of the per capita tax. The administration was inclined to yield to them frequently; but it still remains to be seen how they will work their programs out together. The "progressives" seem to realize that this is a good time to strike in steel, and that a better may never come.

The mention of Steel naturally reminds us of "Wee Willie" Taft, and of his $10,000 subsidy from the Carnegie estate. It is a sight for gods and men—the disclosures brought out by the Hearst papers, that the Chief Justice of the United States Supreme Court is receiving a yearly fee from the Steel King's estate, almost

as high as his salary. One does not have to believe in "economic determinism" to understand why our Bouncing Boy takes so much pains to protect Privilege in his decisions. All honest men ought really to get off the Supreme Bench. It ruins one's reputation with the workers to have anything to do with that anti-labor court.

"BENEFICIARY" OF THE STEEL TRUST

Keystone Photos

This worker has just received a small increase in wages. Because of Gary's generosity? Guess again!

The Dawn, of Altoona, Pa., points to Taft's anti-labor record, and his many decisions and acts against the people, and thinks it no wonder that Carnegie thought so much of him.

As if to justify all the suspicions that honest-minded men are increasingly storing up against the Supreme Court, it comes out with a decision against the Minimum Wage Law for Women for the District of Columbia. This decision follows on its Coronado decision against labor unions, and its child labor decision, on the one hand, and the declaration that stock dividends were not taxable as income, on the other. (Of course, since this last decision the corporations have all been voting fat stock dividends to their stockholders.)

In its minimum wage opinion, the Court seemed much concerned about that business that may be unable to "sustain the burden" of paying a minimum wage. As the **New York Call** says, "this means that such a business can only exist by making slaves of women workers. The judge would sacrifice the women and preserve the business. We would sacrifice the business and preserve the women." But this view is too much to expect of a court on which "Wee Willie" of the Steel Trust sits and also, such a "liberal" as Pierce Butler. Labor might as well face the fact: as in the fight for the abolition of slavery, so in this fight the Supreme Court is heart and soul against the workers.

P. S. As we go to press, as Upton Sinclair would say, news comes that the price of sugar is going higher, even with the proposed "boycott," which means that the workers are not supposed to eat what they should have. Mr. Hoover also courageously comes out in favor of this starvation method!

At the same time, the Cabinet has a special session on immigration, and Senator Sterling announces that he will embody Gary's views in a bill for the new session. Isn't it interesting, how they harken to their master's voice?

(The next issue of LABOR AGE will contain an article by Brother Jennings on the recent steel workers' convention.)

British Labor and The "Intellectuals"

The "Child of the Devil" Becomes an Instrument of Salvation

By H. SNELL

AMERICAN LABOR, on the whole, does not welcome the help of the "intellectual," unless he comes to the movement as a servant, not a leader. That this is the correct viewpoint is shown by George Soule, in his excellent pamphlet on "The Intellectual and the Labor Movement." British Labor, however, has taken a different tack. Of the 144 Labor representatives in Parliament, 44 are "Intellectuals" and they have positions of leadership in the Party. The "why" of this policy is told here by one of these Labor Party Members.

ONE of the big features of the Labor movement in England is the number of members of the professional and middle classes who have placed their services at its disposal, and who take a prominent part in the work of shaping its policy and outlook.

The organizing and administrative talent of these classes have happily been given to the Labor movement in every country where it has become a power. The old German Social Democratic party received its inspiration and driving power from middle class men like Marx and Liebknecht, while France had the advantage of possessing a mental and moral giant such as Jaurès. Belgium has Vandervelde, and Austria had, at the head of its working class movement, so great a figure as Adler. But in no country has the "assimilation" of the middle classes gone so far as in England at the present time.

This extra good luck of the British Labor movement arises in great part from its traditions, and from the inborn character of the British people. Its roots were carefully tended in the middle of the last century by such gifted enthusiasts as Frederick Dennison Maurice, Canon Charles Kingsley, Thomas Hughes and Robert Owen. And ever since it aspired to become a political power it has been served by some of the most brilliant literary men of our time. No other party in England can command such gifted help as Shaw and Wells are ever ready to offer.

Among the reasons why men of the quality of those whose names I have mentioned have been drawn to the British Labor movement, is its wise toleration. It has never sought to impose upon its members a definite and exclusive philosophy of the State, or any special theory of social organization. Upon all such matters it has kept a genial neutrality. The result is, that while the mass of its members do actually respond to the teaching of a socialist ideal, there is nothing in its program which repells those who have reservations in their minds concerning the final form of social organization.

No "Ism" Controls

This lack of a definite philosophy may appear to people of other nations as a defect so important, that they will give the British Labor party only a very limited respect. In this they would be both right and wrong. The party would doubtless be more vehement if it had hard and fast principles to defend; that it would be enormously reduced in voting strength there is no sort of doubt. The British people, however, do not love logic; their habit is to move one step at a time and if they move in the right direction they are satisfied.

Another reason why the middle classes are going in with the Labor movement in England is that at last they are seeing that their ancient loyalty to the old order has been both morally wrong and practically foolish. The experience of the great war has taught them much. Those who possess the keenest vision now realize that if the world is ever to become a decent place to live in, new standards of personal and political conduct will be needed. If we are ever to enjoy the blessings of a secure peace, hungry concession hunters will have to be placed under stricter control. The old political parties appear to be too deeply involved in the financial trickery of the present system to force the changes that are necessary. Thus "the old order changeth giving place to new," and members of the middle classes are seeing in the Labor movement the possibilities of a new and untainted instrument to be used for the good of man.

"Child of the Devil"

This change of outlook has gone further than is generally realized. It has even made headway in the ranks of the clergy of the reactionary English Church. The majority of its priests doubtless remain as Tory in instinct as the most mediaeval landlord could desire. Not a few of them both believe and say, that the Labor party is a child of the devil. But a rapidly growing number of the younger clergy have cut themselves loose from the creed of their elders, and are either active members or sympathizers with the Labor party's ideals. Within the last month, for example, a memorial signed by more than 400 clergymen of the English Established and Scotch churches has been presented to the Labor members of Parliament through their leader, J. Ramsey Macdonald. It is an omen of much that is yet to come and its terms may be of interest to American readers. It states that "we, the undersigned, being priests of the Church of England, who have followed with deep sympathy the recent struggle of labor to secure more effective representation in Parliament, respectfully offer our sincere congratulations to you and the 144 members of Parliament, who, under your leadership, now constitute the official opposition. Our particular calling, with its pastoral experience, gives us direct knowledge of the sufferings and deprivation, moral and physical, to which millions of our fellow citizens are subjected in our present social and industrial order, and to find remedy for which is the chief purpose and aim of the Labor movement . . . . . it is therefore a matter of great satisfaction to us that this increased opportunity is now open to you in the great assembly of the nation, and we shall support actively, in what ever ways are legitimately open to us, the efforts you assuredly will make for the spiritual and economic emancipation of the people."

There are also economic reasons why the program of the Labor party is commending itself to the middle classes of our country. Many of them begin to see that only through it can they escape destruction. The small investor, the individual trader, who has not behind him large capital or unlimited credit, finds himself in danger of being ground to death by "big business" capitalists who, in great part, live upon the lost savings of small investors. When, therefore, the capitalist press endeavors to frighten him with the bogy of confiscation, etc., he remains unconvinced. He knows too well that under no system that the Labor party would be likely to promote would he be so effectively robbed as he is under the present system.

The Tightening Vice

That the middle classes are beginning to see the inevitable tendencies of modern economic life is all to the good. But they are doing so not because they have become conscious of a higher vision, but because they are beginning to feel pressure upon their own lives. So long as only the workers were crushed under the wheels of the capitalist juggernaut they remained aloof and voted Tory. They were both blind and deaf to the call of higher things. But now that the vice is beginning to tighten and to grip them also, the grievance they never felt before. They are learning that the capitalist state does not protect their widows and children if, in the contest for wealth, they are crushed by others; that the teeth of the city shark eats up them and theirs as well as the working classes. If the average English middle-class man has children, he is even more anxious about their future than are the daily laborers about theirs. He cannot, or will not, send them to the public elementary schools, and he cannot afford to provide for them the education that will give them special qualifications. For every one of their needs he has to pay owner's profits, and everything that either he or his children eats or wears is taxed; the quality of his food sinks to the minimum of wholesomeness, and he finds himself being gradually brought down under a burden which is too great for him to bear.

The question arises whether the middle class man has come to the labor movement to cast in his lot with it and to stand by it for good or ill, as an expression of a real faith, or whether he is but a friendly caller who feels free to desert to the old camp any time he pleases? The answer to that question belongs to the future. We hope for the best. In the meantime he brings to our work a trained mind and a higher education than belong to the mass of the working class who are its loyal and heroic safeguard. He is proving himself to be a good comrade and the kindest feeling prevails between him and the rank and file of the party.

Our British Labor party is a power, precisely because it has effected this wonderful combination of those who work both by hand and by brain. If the alliance is maintained, it will grow from strength to strength.

A Play Worth While

PEER GYNT

A Life for Principle vs. A Life for Self

THE story of Peer Gynt comes home to every man. Each one of us is called on to choose between a life lived for principle and a life lived for self. Peer Gynt chose the latter course—and hence the story.

Driven from his native Norway, because he raped the bride of another man, he goes to America. There he becomes a dealer in Negro slaves and in heathen images for China. This traffic makes him rich. But to keep his conscience in good order, he sends missionaries and Bibles to China to offset the heathen idols—all at a handsome profit. That is his whole rule of life—never to have any principles, but always to leave the gate open for a retreat. He hedges on everything—always "going round about," and never facing his problems through.

His Egotism receives its proper reward. It is played upon by the Arab dancing girl—in order to steal his jewels and his purse! It leads him to a madhouse in Cairo, where he is told that insanity is the highest form of Egotism. The insane are only concerned about themselves, and not about the ills of others. Finally, an old and broken man, he returns to his native country.

It is then that he learns, at the close of his career, what his life should have been. He should have lived for others, not himself. He should have been himself—"in his faith, in his love, in his hope." He could have then found the phantom he was chasing—Happiness. Not by hedging on principles—not by "going round"—but by standing out for principle, and by making the stand for Right, no matter what its cost, could Peer Gynt be a Man.

The legend, with its many changes of clime and place, allows for rare stage settings. This has thoroughly been taken advantage of. At this time, in particular, the play should be seen. It will strengthen our resolves to stand for Principle and the Workers' Cause.

The Workers' Gas Mask

By PRINCE HOPKINS

AS the result of being steeped in certain poisons—so the biologist Jacques Loeb found—certain little animals have their natural tendencies completely reversed. What formerly attracted them, they now swim away from. What formerly repelled them, they now swim toward.

A familiar partial illustration of this principle in the physical field is seen in human food-habits. Tobacco, condiments and the toxic substances generated whenever we eat more than we quite need to—all these poisons make us crave still more of unwholesome things, such as alcohol and other excitants, and destroy our taste for simple, wholesome fare. For this reason, wise parents are so exceedingly careful of their children's diet.

So, in the mental field. A partial illustration of the principle is found in our reading habits. If we feed on the society scandals in the columns of the papers we graduate into the addiction to the sensational movie. If we swallow the Associated Liars of the Press' daily dope, we develop an aversion to any type of logic which doesn't force its facts to fit its conclusions. So that here again, it is a foolish parent who will allow such material to lie (the word is a happy one) much about the home.

The above partial illustrations, from diet and from reading, may seem to some persons to be little more than examples of the deterioration of taste, physiological and intellectual. If this were a technical paper, it would be easy to find better examples from medical cases in which wrong feeding of the child, physiologically or psychologically, had resulted in serious disturbances in later life, complicated by inability to choose for itself what is wholesome. To protect the child from this there have grown up elaborate sciences of hygiene.

Wanted: Social Hygiene

First came the ordinary physical hygiene to keep infection from the body. Now has come the science of mental hygiene. A child mustn't hear its parents continually quarreling over money and other things; it mustn't be under an old-maidish school teacher whose celibate life has made her neurotic; otherwise the child grows up with an unstable nervous constitution.

My plea is: that in addition to physiological hygiene and mental hygiene, we develop a social hygiene. We need to protect our children not only against germs which make their bodies ill and experiences which make them emotionally unstable, but against indoctrination with dogmas and false evaluations of life which make them betray the cause of humanity. This indoctrination is what corresponds not partially, but completely to Loeb's experiment in poisoning the natural tendencies of the little animalcules. Our public schools are an experiment in the wholesale perversion of childish intellect to bring forth confusion; and of childish good will, to produce social ill. Such is the effect of the domination of our school system, nominally "public," by the moneyed class who are in power to give the workers' children not "education"—which is an impartial thing—but capitalistic propaganda.

This is proven, with an enormous number of facts, in a book which we review in this month's Book Notes—Sinclair's "Goose Step." What's to be considered here is, how the workers are to protect their children.

What Is the Poison?

Against poison, two things may be done: One is if possible to stop taking more of the drug; the other, to find a neutralizing substance. In the case of the capitalist gas attack, none of us can effectively shut off the supply. We must devise a gas mask.

To do this, we must first analyze the poison, as to its ingredients and as to the secret of their effect. We find that the capitalist gas is made up in part of distorted facts, and in part of a vicious play upon human weaknesses.

Children in the schools, and later in college, are given texts so written as to convince the German child that German institutions and traditions are perfect and should be imposed upon the rest of the world; and the French child similarly of French institutions and traditions; and the American child, similarly of American institutions and traditions. A teacher is set over the child who will ram this doctrine down its throat daily. Obviously, this antidote to this poison is, for that power in the community which is most international in sentiment and opposed

by interest to the denomination of the capitalist clique—namely: the aroused working class, to provide schools and colleges under its own management, in which opposing evidence is welcomed into court.

But the more subtle ingredient in the capitalist gas isn't the perverted text, but the play upon human weakness. What a child reads in his book affects him less than what he reads in the conduct of people around him, because the conscious part of our mind controls us less than the unconscious.

What's the good of text-books glorifying democracy, if the class itself is run as an unmodified autocracy? First, we must introduce self-government into the school; and when the child has become used to expect and to practice democracy, then he'll appreciate its wordy glorification. Our workers' schools and colleges are going to preach industrial, as well as political, democracy. But what's the good of that, if the parents and teachers who complain of tyranny in their vocations, treat the child tyrannically in home and school?

Making Dull Animals

What's the good of text-books ranting about freedom, if in the school all the joyous, spontaneous impulses of the child, his sociable inclination to work with others, and his natural curiosity manifesting in a thousand eager questions, are ruthlesly suppressed in order to cram him full of dead bones of knowledge which he didn't crave and can't digest? Tests made by the Teachers' College show that not ten per cent of what is heard in the class room can be reproduced by the pupil immediately after. I am sure the reader doesn't remember even one per cent of what he learnt at school. And this enormously wasteful system turns the alert, inquiring child into that dull animal known as the American citizen, bored by all art, philosophy, or learning.

The Shortcomings of the "Proletcult"

What'll be the use in our workers' colleges of exposing these shortcomings in the American citizen's capitalistic "cultism" if we fill him up with a brand of "prolecult" equally narrow? As no villain is purely wicked and no hero purely good, so neither is capitalist culture all that's superficial and "proletcult" all that's essential. Manners are stressed by the "cultured" because they mark them apart from the "vulgar," but they also serve as a lubricant, eliminating social friction. Looking "well groomed" is considered by the rich a supreme virtue because it marks off them who can always look neat, from the masses who toil in sweat and grime. Nevertheless, people have so deep an admiration for well-groomed horses, dogs, men or women, that literally thousands of them are estranged from the radical movement because many radicals are eccentric and slovenly to look at. **Our "proletcult" must be broadened to include the niceties which human psychology craves; then we shan't be in a house of glass when exposing capitalist culture.**

What's the use of revealing to the child the lies of capitalistic texts and papers, if we encourage him by our example, in unfairness or slipshod inaccuracy in presenting our side of the case? His unconscious mind judges us, and discounts all we say, and is only seemingly convinced; meantime he learns that in every dispute one may fake evidence. We must discipline our own ranks to undeviating accuracy and restraint and then our exposure of the capitalist lies will carry to the student a tenfold conviction. Or, of what use is it to recite the list of capitalist crimes against free speech—the incitings of mobs, the ferocious prison terms, the hounding of men out of their jobs—if our own class rejects an opponent's argument with hoots and cat-calls instead of with patient explanation? To evade the duty of fair argument immediately antagonizes every hearer who isn't already on our side, and ends by weakening our own confidence in our case, because it is the gesture appropriate to uncertainty. If I feel I can't meet my opponent's arguments, then I must be in the wrong, and I am glad to have him show me this. It will certainly make life easier for me, if he can demonstrate that no duty requires me to buck the system—that, in reality, "all things are for the best in the best of all possible worlds." So, first, be entirely fair to our adversaries, and then we can show up their own intolerance in blackest contrast. Fortunately we can enter few of the existing workers' schools and colleges without feeling that the principles I've enumerated here have been largely realized. They're not just conventional maxims, based on a be-good morality; they're practical rules for success; they're just social hygiene. They represent emergence from the poisons in which, like Loeb's little animals, we men have long been steeped, the poisons which have reversed our wholesome natural action patterns.

Labor History in the Making

In the U. S. A.

(By the Manager, in Cooperation with the Board of Editors)

DOING AWAY WITH "REELING AND WRITHING"

LITTLE ALICE should come out of "Wonderland" into 20th Century America. She would feel quite at home. The "reeling and writhing" taught in the school under the sea has been carried to a state of perfection in our modern schools and colleges. The "reeling" is done largely by the students, and the "writhing" by the professors—under the whip of the trustees. Upton Sinclair's "Goose Step" tells the damning story. Page by page, he cruelly builds up an indictment of American Education that should make every union man hope that his son or daughter will not think of getting "the benefits of a university training." The charges he brings against "our" schools, colleges and universities are: Stupidity, Cowardice, Tyranny, Base Crawling before Privilege. The answer in each case is a thundering: "Guilty!"

Happily, the American workers are getting away from the idea that they must have their thinking done for them by a school, college or university board of trustees composed of bankers, railroad magnates and other like characters. They have set out to do their own educating — in schools under their own control.

These worker-educators got together, for their third annual conference, in New York City on April 14th and 15th. Over 100 delegates were present — from Seattle to New York. The official representatives of the A. F. of L. were also on hand, to take an active part in the discussions—a reminder that the work of the Workers Education Bureau is now being actively pushed by all sections of the Labor movement.

The conference let it be known that it promoted no "ism." President Maurer stated in his opening address that education cannot be propaganda, but that there can be nothing more splendidly revolutionary than an enlightened working class. Give the workers the tools of education, he argued, with which to learn the facts, and they will take steps to abolish the present system. A spirited discussion arose as to what "workers' education" means, and as to what institutions should be allowed to join the Bureau. Though the issue was not put to a direct vote of the conference, it is certain that only schools and colleges under the direct control of trade unions will be admitted to affiliation — except those already in — and that the schools and colleges of "dual unions" will be excluded.

It is unfortunate that the Conference should have been opened with a discussion between President Gompers and the trustees of the "Garland Fund." JUSTICE, organ of the International Ladies' Garment Workers—the first union to promote workers' education—finds that both had blundered, the Fund in passing on the W. E. B. as lacking in "radicalism," and Gompers for his attack on the Fund as "reds" after they had refused the W. E. B. request. The paper finds it "quite annoying that such an intelligent man as Gompers seems to seek in all and everything the spectre of the unfortunate Russian Revolution."

The big reason for workers' education is to train the workers to become effective in their own movement. It will equip them more and more to take up the tasks that have been considered the function of a select sacred caste—the "business man." To justify its existence, it will be compelled more and more to train them in group action — and that means the education of the workers by themselves for the running of industry by themselves. No "ism" need be taught. No propaganda handed out. But, as President Maurer says, if the workers have the tools to see the facts and give them to their fellow-workers, the rest will follow. So all workers will join in "all hail" and good wishes to the American Workers' Education Movement.

SAILORS' SHIPS

SOME of these fine days we will be sailing the briny deep in an American labor-owned merchant marine. Does that seem a pipe dream? It should not; for Labor is branching out into so many different activities that this is only a logical next step.

The United States Shipping Board has been making a mess of our merchant shipping. The best thing that Chairman Lasker and President Harding could think of was a return to a privately-owned merchant marine, with ship subsidy. The President made a hard fight for his subsidy bill, but it was buried after the blow at the administration last November.

But now, lo and behold! Local 33 of the Marine Engineers' Union comes along and offers to buy three ships from the United States, at $100,000 apiece. They can

THE UNION SAILORS WILL PUT THESE TO WORK

Keystone Photos

Uncle Sam's fleet of merchant ships—lying idle through the inefficiency of the U. S. Shipping Board. The Marine Engineers want to buy at least 3 of them, and promise real results. The workers will understand, they say, that they are working for their own group, not for some exploiter of labor—and that will spell success.

run such ships, they say, under their own control, pay high wages and make good returns. This is a terrible blow to Mr. Lasker's claim that American shipping could never make headway, because of the high wages paid American seamen. The American seamen are willing to try the experiment themselves.

Of course, the Shipping Board could not think of taking this offer. The President announced shortly afterward that the United States would hold on to all its ships for awhile. The idea is not dead, however. That the sailors can run their own ships has been shown by the fine record of the Italian Garibaldi Society, conducted by the Italian Seamen's Union. Their ships everywhere sail the seas. The Profit Maker has been done away with. And so strong is this organization that it is one of the few labor unions with whom the Fascisti have been forced to make peace. We await with impatience the coming of its American duplicate.

DIGGING UP LABOR FACTS

IT'S DIFFICULT to keep up with the moves of American Labor to strengthen itself against the Profit Makers. A lightning-fast reporter is needed to make the record up-to-date. Hardly has LABOR AGE announced that labor banks were planned for New York City than the first of them—that of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers—is a reality. Hardly is the special issue on Labor Research off the press than the Rand School of Social Science in New York announces its new Research Department, under the guidance of Solon De Leon.

This department will get out the "American Labor Year Book" — that valuable review of American Labor which the Rand School has issued for a number of years. It will also build up a complete labor research library, and will give information to whoever applies for such on what is happening in the social and economic fields.

This is not the only agency which must be added to the roll of those engaged in digging out facts for the use of Labor. The Federated Press has just established its research department, directed by Leland Olds, who was formerly with the Railway Employes Department of the A. F. of L. It gets out the "economic news service" to newspapers taking the Federated Press releases.

This service is doing a big job in showing up what part wages play in the cost of goods or services produced, what really makes for changes in the cost of living, the facts about employment, earnings, dividends, etc., etc. It gives information, therefore, which the workers would not get otherwise.

It is encouraging to see the growth of these agencies. This means that Labor will not lack for ammunition in its battles; and that the workers, armed with a knowledge of what is taking place, will be able to make big strides forward.

CIVIL LIBERTY SIGHTED, BUT—

OUT OF MICHIGAN have come strange tidings. Strange, that is, for after-the-war America. The jury in the case of William Z. Foster—as the newspapers have informed us—disagreed. The vote was 6 to 6, an even break on the question of his guilt or innocense under Michigan's "criminal syndicalism" law. That is a neat little surprise for the Reactionaries and Head Hunting Enemies of Labor! "Trade unionists,"

as the **Locomotive Engineers' Journal** says, "regardless of their attitude toward the theories of the Communist 'Workers Party,' will be much concerned in the outcome of this contest for constitutional rights." It was only a short time back that the mere breathing of the word "bolshevik" in connection with a labor men was enough to send him to jail in a very few minutes. So, a change is coming over America in regard to civil liberty. The second acquittal of the miners at Herrin shows how widespread is this new frame of mind. It is a continuation of the sentiment which swept the West for the Farmer-Labor forces in the last election.

All of which must be said with a "But—," loud and strong. Sentiment has shifted, but the instruments of repression are still in existence—and are being used in a number of cases. Criminal syndicalism laws remain on the statute books of 28 states. "Opposition to war" is punishable in 9 states, "peace time sedition" in 13, red flag display and criminal anarchy in 20. During all the dark days of Reaction, the **American Civil Liberties Union** carried on the fight for freedom. In its last report, just off the press, it says that it is forced to continue the fight. "We had hoped," the report states, "that repression might so lift that our work would fall off, and that what was left would be absorbed by other agencies. But the volume of it continues unbroken, though the factors change." California continues to chute men into jail for "criminal syndicalism." North Dakota, which is excited about peonage in Florida, arrests workers merely because they are members of a "forbidden organization," the I. W. W. In West Virginia "free speech" is but a name, and the miners have to fight for every wee bit of it that they secure. The Civil Liberties Union has aptly drawn up a "War Map of West Virginia," which gives, at a glance, the story of the battle for freedom there. "The determination of the operators," it says, "not to allow miners even to meet or talk about unionism are responsible for the repeated trials, injunctions and outbursts of violence which have characterized this district of West Virginia for ten years."

Added to these things—and every bit as injurious to civil liberty—is the "starvation" boycott used by the employing forces everywhere against active union men. The **Pittsburgh Employers' Association,** for example,—one of the blackest in the United States—has published a series of releases on "Revolutionary Unionism in America," in which it has blacklisted the most active union men in the Smoky City. It gives no quarter. "These men must not get jobs," is the decree.

This form of attack on militant union men will go on right along, until the power of the Profit Makers is smashed and their wings clipped permanently. Spies, blacklists, the use of starvation and all the rest, will continue as long as the Industrial Fight goes on. Laboring men can only win freedom by taking over industrial control. So runs the lesson.

STOPPING THE SEA

A ROMAN emperor once tried to stop the sea, by imperial edict. He was later found to be insane. All through history, before and since his time, men and forces in power have tried to stop the sweep of Progress. But they have never been successful. The name "Bourbon," for instance, has come to mean a man of power stupidly ignorant of the volcano he is stirring up under him.

Brookwood Workers' College, perhaps the foremost workers' educational institution in this country, needs additions of books to its library. If you would like to give it some, write the Librarian, Brookwood, Katonah, N. Y.

It is not surprising that the men in power today—the Profit Makers—should attempt to halt Progress. There are many "Bourbons" among them. But there is also some method to some of their madness. A number of railroads are trying out the "company union" idea against the shopmen. They hope to fool the workers into believing that in this way they can obtain their rights. Such an impartial body as the **National Catholic Welfare Council,** however, has shown that these so-called "unions" are a snare and a delusion.

Another development, to which the **Labor Bureau** calls attention in its News Letter, is the sale of stock by big corporations to their workers. U. S. Steel—the biggest anti-union force—is also the leader in this device to hold the workers' "loyalty." Among others who have followed its lead are the American Telephone and Telegraph Co., the Eastman Kodak Co., the International Harvester Co., the U. S. Rubber Co., and the Western Electric Co. As the Labor Bureau says, by taking this stock the worker "sells out his major interests as a worker for a pittance at the hands of capital." When a dispute over wages or hours comes up, he must always think of that small amount (but big to him) which he has tied up in the corporation. In addition, these schemes always provide for a special bonus for workers, which they lose if they leave the company within 5 years or are discharged within that time. "Obedience" is the watchword under such a system. The workers' rights are erased.

Public utility corporations, it may be added, are using the same scheme. The Public Service Corporation of New Jersey,—serving 140 cities in that state with street railway service, gas and electricity—is "letting the public in" on its profits, by selling them stock. This corporation has been one of the worst offenders against the "public"—hesitating at nothing to maintain high and unreasonable rates. It is now having a hard fight on its hands—hence, the conversion. The Durant Automobile Company is likewise selling stock in small blocks to workers and "public," in order that "industrial democracy" may prevail. Thomas E. Mitten, of Philadelphia and Buffalo, justifies his fight on unionism with a similar trick device. (He has even roped in "liberal" writers in support of his scheme. That the workers are not so easily deceived is shown by the vigorous attack on his plan by the Philadelphia Central Labor Union.)

All of these devices, to prevent the workers from controlling their own destinies through their own group action, are sea-stopping ventures. They will not work. Like the Whitley Councils scheme in England, they have been gotten up to head off the real "industrial democracy" which is ahead. The beginnings of this new order of things is seen in Labor's interest in taking on its own banks, its own stores and shops, its own ships, etc., etc. Nothing can stop these things from growing, but a misstep on the part of the workers themselves. It is up to them.

May, 1922—May, 1923

By OSSIP WOLINSKY

ANOTHER year gone! The American labor movement will again join forces with the working class of the world in celebration of the great holiday of labor.. We shall again demonstrate our great desire for peace among peoples and nations and our determination to end war forever.

The ruling classes are again plotting and conspiring to embroil the world in another great war. The manufacturers of war implements, the war profiteers, the coal and iron barons, jealous of one another, selfish, greedy and reckless, are planning to renew the conflagration of 1914. The organized militant working men and women of the world are the hope and salvation of mankind and the only force the war lords fear. This explains the great open-shop campaigns and conspiracies of the exploiters and profiteers to destroy the trade union movement.

The workers of Europe have clung tenaciously to their positions, keeping their ranks intact against the onslaughts of the enemy, and they have come out triumphant on the economic, as well as the political field. The rising tide of labor in Great Britain, the dominant position of the Labor party in Parliament is a source of inspiration to the working class the world over. While the chieftains of the Republican party talk about making the open-shop campaign the issue of the next presidential election, the trade union movement of America is marching forward, slowly but surely, towards the organization of its economic and political forces along the lines of the British Labor movement. The successful strikes waged by the miners, railroad workers, clothing workers, ladies' garment workers and others have had a good effect upon the workers in the United States. These strikes have given them courage to repel the slashing wage cuts and the onslaughts against their working standards.

The tide has turned. The Steel King, Elbert H. Gary, has been forced to increase the wages of the 150,000 wage slaves in the steel mill hells of the United States Steel trust in order to forestall the reorganization of the workers of the industry. The large independent steel manufacturers are following suit by announcing an 11 per cent wage increase. Mr. Wood, the Textile King, has been forced to grant a wage increase of 12 per cent, affecting over 50,000 textile workers, for the very same reason. The large independent textile companies are doing the same.

The monopolists of food and clothing are again driving prices sky high, and the cost of living is on the up-hill. The workers in the various industries are demanding wage increases. The open shoppers are reluctant, however, to risk battle again with the well-organized and militant trade unions of the country. Hence, their cry for a break in the barrier against immigration, and for the revival of the Open Shop campaigns. The capitalists of all lands have always used the armies of unemployed to lower the working and living standards of the toiling masses.

The depression of 1922 has passed. May Day, 1923, is full of rays of sunshine for the sons of toil all over the country. The organization of an American Labor party is in the process of making. The trade union movement has learned by bitter experience during the after-war period that the capitalist class, possessing the means of production, is also in control of the political machinery of the land. By means of anti-labor laws and sweeping injunctions, they have done their worst to cripple and exterminate the economic weapon of the working class, the trade union movement. But, the defeat of the Republican party during the last elections is a sign of the times. The newly elected progressives, it is true, are far from being representative of the ideals and aspirations of Labor in the United States, but they are surely the fore-runners of the dawn of a new era for Labor in America. Capitalists of various industries are merging forces and amalgamating for the purpose of more exploitation, domination and profiteering. The trade unions must follow suit. They must grow in militancy and unity of purpose with a growing will to conquer.

The labor movement in the United States has every reason to celebrate the International Holiday of Labor on May 1, 1923—imbued with a spirit of international solidarity and brotherhood of man, and instilled with a will to substitute capitalist oppression for a commonwealth of labor.

"EVERYTHING RUNNING SATISFACTORY"

Drawn by J. F. Anderson, of the Machinists

"Business is going on as usual," declare the Railroads who have refused to meet their shopmen. A little thing like the deaths of workers, from the hard-boiled rail policy and from the rail owners' sabotage, disturbs them not at all. They are the flower of the Profit System. But the shop strike is still on, and the workers know that "business is not as usual," even for the Railroads.

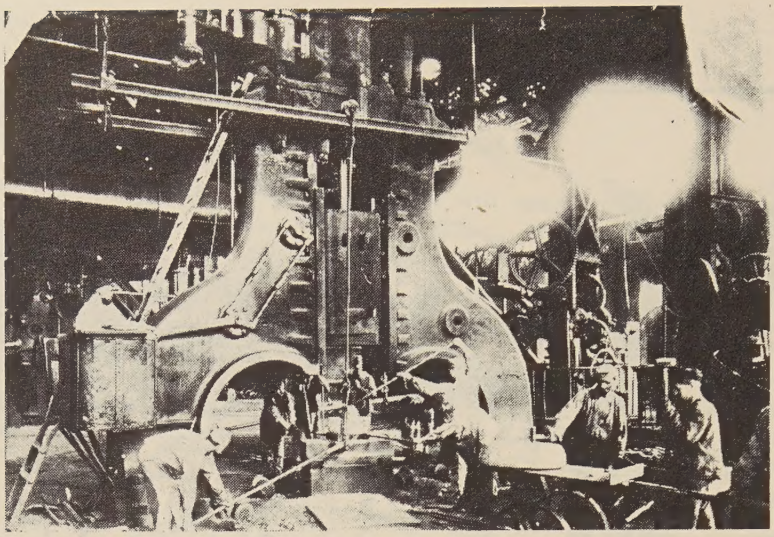
With Our European Brothers

BONAR LAW, British Tory Premier, is taking a vacation. He has had a rocky road of it in the present Parliament, and needs a rest. The Labor Party has been too much for him to deal with. It has had no mercy, but has pushed forward its views on every one of the many ticklish questions that have come up.

The trouble with the Premier has been that he has never known just what to do, while the Laborites always are ready with a definite program of action. They forced him to put his housing "program" into cold storage, as we reported in last month's LABOR AGE. They have stood out strongly against the French policy in the Ruhr, while Bonar Law has stood for doing nothing about it. They even compelled him, early in April, to reverse his policy toward the ex-service men. On that occasion the "government" actually found itself in the minority. The vote was 145 to 138 against it, and the Labor Party made such a protest against the "government's" attempt to shut off debate about it that the Speaker was forced to adjourn the House. Then, seeing itself beaten, the "government" gave in to the Labor Party's demands. These were that ex-service men in the civil service, who have been put in as "temporary" workers, should be given decent pay.

The protest of the Labor Party, on that historic April 11th when the Speaker adjourned the House, was not only vocal but dramatic. Many of the Laborites rose and sang "The Red Flag." It was the first time that that revolutionary hymn had been heard within the halls of Parliament. Several fisticuffs also occurred between Tory members and Laborites. In the course of which the nose of Honorable Guinness, scion of a noble family, was punched by a brawny son of toil.

Bonar Law has been equally unable to meet the crises caused by the big strikes and lockouts occurring lately. April saw all the British building workers locked out by the "masters"—a part of the program of the British Federation of Industries to cut down wages and lengthen hours. It also saw the strike of the farm workers, whose fight was a fight against starvation. "Work and sleep" has been their lot, not even a moving picture show being able to maintain itself in the rural villages. The farm workers appealed to Bonar Law for help. He



Keystone Photos

THE MOTE IN THE FRENCH EYE

The great Krupp works at Essen—greedily seized by Militarist France in its German drive.

gave them the same answer he has given the unemployed —a gesture. It was the leader of the Labor Party, Ramsay MacDonald, who got the two sides together on April 20th. The present wage was continued—which means a victory for the workers. In the building trades difficulty, arbitration has been consented to by the "masters" and the proceedings are on at the present time.

It seems pretty certain that the present weak m inistry will not last much longer. The **New York American** already hails Ramsay MacDonald as "the next Premier of England." That sounds very much like prophecy that will come true.

If it does, it will mean for one thing a decided change in Britain's policy toward the French in the Ruhr. All European labor is against the invasion. This was shown at the International Federation of Trade Unions' meeting at the Hague in January. It is also shown by the resolutions of the French General Confederation of Labor against the murder of German workers at the Krupp plant in Essen. French labor, however, is too divided to make itself felt. But a British Labor government would go far toward changing present conditions. There is nothing, also, which would encourage the German workers in their "passive resistance" more than the victory of British Labor. They have already announced, in view of the coming of May 1, to continue their resistance to the French policy of oppression.

Steel at the Root of It

J. Oudegeest, Secretary of the International Federation of Trade Unions, points out in the latest issue of that Federation's organ that "the Ruhr District, together with the Lorraine ore-mines, places the country which has possession of this territory in a position of supremacy over the war industry of the whole of Europe." He repeats the charge of Francesco Nitti, former Premier of Italy, that France intends to use the Ruhr to build up its supremacy in steel.

"The country which has control over the Lorraine ore-mines and at the same time over the coke-ovens of the Ruhr District," Oudegeest writes, "commands the whole position, in the event of an outbreak of war, as far as the manufacture of munitions is concerned. Practically the whole of the steel production of Europe is represented by the Lorraine and Ruhr industries."

He adds that the general strike is at present impossible in Europe, or it would have been used by the Federation to stop the invasion. It is rather to such moves as British Labor is making that the European workers must look to relieve the situation under present conditions. This shows how much importance is attached to the possibility of a complete Labor Party victory in England.

STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, CIRCULATION, ETC., REQUIRED BY THE ACT OF CONGRESS OF AUGUST 24, 1912,

Of LABOR AGE, published monthly at New York, N. Y., for April 1, 1923. State of New Jersey, County of Union, ss.

Before me, a notary public in and for the State and county aforesaid, personally appeared Louis F. Budenz, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the Manager of the LABOR AGE, and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management (and if a daily paper, the circulation), etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, embodied in section 443, Postal Laws and Regulations, printed on the reverse of this form, to wit:

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business managers are: Publisher, Labor Publication Society, 41 Union Square, New York City; editors, Prince Hopkins, Harry W. Laidler, Roger N. Baldwin, Stuart Chase, Max D. Danish, 41 Union Square, New York City; business and editorial manager, Louis F. Budenz; no managing editor.

2. That the owners are: The Labor Publication Society, a non-stock corporation; approximate membership, 200; 41 Union Square, New York City; President, James H. Maurer, Harrisburg, Pa.; Secretary, J. M. Budish, 41 Union Square, New York City; Treasurer, Abraham Baroff, 3 West 16th Street, New York City.

3. That the known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding 1 per cent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are: None.

4. That the two paragraphs next above, giving the names of the owners, stockholders, and security holders, if any, contain not only the list of stockholders and security holders as they appear upon the books of the company but also, in cases where the stockholder or security holder appears upon the books of the company as trustee or in any other fiduciary relation, the name of the person or corporation for whom such trustee is acting, is given also that the said two paragraphs contain statements embracing affiant's full knowledge and belief as to the circumstances and condition under which stockholders and security holders who do not appear upon the books of the company as trustees, hold stock and securities in a capacity other than that of a bona fide owner and this affiant has no reason to believe that any other person, association, or corporation has any interest direct or indirect in the said stock, bonds, or other securities than as so stated by him.

LOUIS F. BUDENZ, Manager.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 2nd day of April, 1923.

(Seal) L. I. CARTWRIGHT,
Notary Public, Union County, New Jersey.
(My commission expires May, 1924.)

BOOK NOTES

Edited by PRINCE HOPKINS

THE GOOSE STEP

HOW can any man gather, in a few month's tour, such a gigantic crowd of facts? More, how can he himself digest the mass and reproduce it in well-coordinated array? Above all how can he render the whole lump digestible to others and so thoroughly readable?

Such are the feelings I have in perusing Upton Sinclair's **"The Goose Step"** (Economy Book Shop, 33 South Clark Street, Chicago, 478 pp. published by the author, 1923). This book must remain for years the standard exposure of how our higher institutions of learning are absolutely controlled by the money power. Through a system of "interlocking directors" they have to function as centers not of wisdom, but of capitalist propaganda, else they get no funds.

* * *

READING "The Goose Step" leaves one with the suspicion that no college president can be really sincere in his utterances on economic questions. But a personal acquaintance with President Emeritus C. F. Thwing of Western Reserve University makes me feel that the general hostility to labor's aims which one reads between the lines of his **"Human Australia"** (Macmillan, 1923) exists rather in spite of a real desire to be fair. The actual facts given in the book are about as often for labor as against, but its learned author seems, by sheer temperament, and at this moment when capitalism all over the world is tottering to ruin, not to imagine that any profound change is about to take place in human society.

It is claimed by many that syndicalism as an organized movement, in central Europe and elsewhere, is practically dead; though it has left behind it a very live influence in other working class movements. To the extent that the former statement is true, the explanation will be found in the pages of J. Ramsay Macdonald's booklet, **Syndicalism** (London, Constable & Co., Ltd.). As English labor's leading parliamentarian he naturally has no great friendship for a philosophy which denies the use of all political action, and in their early anti-rationalism he finds the most vulnerable point for his attack.

THE STORY OF THE WORLD

IT IS one of the signs of the times that H. G. Wells should supplement his "Outline of History" with **"A Short History of the World."** The romance of the world's birth and development has perhaps never been done so interestingly as in this book. It is written for the man who is in a hurry—who is caught in the whirlpools and eddies of this modern complex system of ours. It tells the story in a simple and vivid way. The words and sentences are short. The action is rapid. It is a real moving picture of the world's progress.

Why has there been such an outcropping of "outlines" and brief sketches of history and science and other things? For the reason, we take it, that men everywhere are more interested than ever before in all these things. They cannot and do not want them presented in a dry, academic way. They want to get the general ideas of these things—and not let them remain the secret knowledge of the specialists. This will make for spread of information. It will equip men of action—greater and greater groups of them—with the things known hitherto only to men of the closet, who study and do not act.

A similar development was seen at the time of the invention of the printing press. Latin books were superseded by books written in the language of the people. Now that language is being simplified, so that no one need be debarred from knowledge. Wells is a pioneer in this field. He will be followed by many others. The Future is in the hands of the common people—the workers, Men of Action. They need this information, and will demand that they receive it through the method that Wells has used. Trade union libraries should equip themselves with the "Short History of the World." It is a necessary addition to their shelves.

WHAT TO READ

10. Textiles

On unions:

"The Textile Worker," United Textile Workers, Bible House, New York City.

"The New Textile Worker," Amalgamated Textile Workers, 7 East 15th Str., New York City.

Leaflets of United Textile Workers, "Golden Fleece," etc.

(For information on American Federation of Textile Operatives, address John P. O'Connell, Salem, Mass.)

On waste:

"Waste in Industry," Report of Federated Engineering Societies, McGraw Hill Co., 370 Second Ave., New York.

On Women and Child Labor:

See reports and bulletins of National Child Labor Committee, 105 East 22nd Street. (Have worked in close cooperation with United Textile Workers.)

CO-OPERATION tells you what the radicals of Europe are doing and what many of them are beginning to do here in laying the ground floor of the Co-operative Commonwealth. Published monthly by The Co-operative League of America, 2 West 13th Street, New York City. Subscription price, $1.00 a year.

Are You "UN-AMERICAN?"

If You Have Been Called Thusly, You Are in Good Company

"HELL AND MARIA" DAWES has just declared that all American labor unions are "Un-American." (In the Late War He Himself Fought and Bled from a Swivel Chair.) General Secretary J. W. Hays of the International Typographical Union answers "General" Dawes to the effect that only an imbecile would shout the term "Un-American" today.

THE RAILWAY REVIEW, organ of the railway interests charges that LABOR AGE is also "Un-American." We dare to aid and abet "the Craze for Higher Wages!" Our answer would ditto Brother Hays' very closely.

LABOR'S ENEMIES MAKE FUNNY FACES AND SHOUT TERMS OF THIS KIND BECAUSE THEY CANNOT MEET THE FACTS

It is only sad that such stunted minds have power over thousands of workers. The job of LABOR AGE is to help destroy their power—bq giving FACTS to labor, and by showing the things which the Labor Movement is doing to beat these Profit Makers.

Every local union should have LABOR AGE, at least in its office, for the use of its officers and active members. To encourage this, we now make the special price to local unions of

6 Yearly Subscriptions for $10.00

COMBINATION OFFERS:
(A Chance to Get Good Books at Reduced Prices)

LABOR AGE and	Usual price	Combination price
Upton Sinclair's "Goose Step"	$4.00	$3.00
Robert Bruere's "Coming of Coal	3.00	2.50
Jackson Ralston's "Democracy's International Law	3.00	2.50
Charles E. Russell's "Railroad Melons, Rates and Wages"	4.00	3.00
Sidney and Beatrice Webb, "Decay of Capitalist Civilization"	3.75	2.25
Ernest Poole's "The Harbor" (labor novel)	3.00	2.00

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